

# REVIEW.

Tuesday, September 23. 1712.

Shall conclude my summary View of the State of Parties in this Paper.

I have prov'd, that both *Old Whig* and *New Whig*, *Old Ministry* and *New Ministry*, have on all their Party-Occasions, join'd with the *Tory Jacobite Interest*, to carry on their Cause; and gave you, in my last, their Excuse for it.

The *WHIGS*, when they join'd with the *Jacobites*, said, that altho', they confess, the Thing was not justifiable, yet the blame ought to lie on them who first began the Practice, which they said, was not them, but the *Court Whigs*, viz. The Ministry.

They said, they were driven to the Necessity of it.

They said, they made use of *Tories* and *Jacobites*, but it was only as Tools, that they, indeed, join'd with *Jacobite Interest*, but not with a *Jacobite Principle*.

The First, viz. Who did it first, I take to be no Answer or Reason at all, yet if it were, it justifies present Ministry so fully from the Practice of the *Whigs*, that if I should use it, they would cry as Writing for the Ministry, which I am sure I yet given them no pretence to.

The Second is, The Necessity of it, is also so much in Favour of the *New Ministry*, that I omit it for the same Reason; for if ever any Party were forc'd to by Necessity, they were, since the Necessity of others, was only the Necessity for their Cause, and for their Lives.

The Third is the only Point can be Argued upon, That they only made Tools of the *Jacobites*; that they join'd with their Interest, but not with the same Principle — This is all either side have to say; as to my Opinion of the Validity of this Argument, it is thus, in short; I believe it in the first, I hope it in the second, and there lies the present Issue.

I was reduc'd to the Necessity of granting, that the present Ministry were in the Interest of the Pretender; I must

at the same time acknowledge them Traytors to God, to their Queen, and to the Nation; but that they are bringing *France* and the *Jacobite Interest* to be subservient to the Interest they are carrying on, that I may readily grant; and we see the Precedent, and the Plea for it, in the Case of the *Whigs* before us; so that till it appears that they are really in the Interest of the Pretender, and of *France*, we cannot pass our Censure freely; when I am Convinc'd of this, I will condemn, and open at them, as leud as any one; but if it be only making use of *Jacobite Hands*, and *French Hands*, to carry on Party-Interest, and to send off against their Enemies, what can we say more than will stand good by the Argument above, against the *Whigs* who did it before them.

I know they are all now called *Jacobites*; a *Frenchified Ministry*, and the Peace a *French Peace*, and the like; I neither defend the Peace, nor any of their Measures, that is not the Case here; my CURSE and the Nation's CURSE be on all those, whose DESIGN is to restore *French Exorbitance* in *Europe*, *French Tyranny* in *Britain*, a *Papish Prince* to the Throne, or Arbitrary Government to the Administration, let the Persons be who they will: But shall I say the present Ministry aim at this, and design this, because their Opposers cry out it is so? Not I, any more than I will say that the *Squadrons* in *Scotland*, and the *Whig Lords* in *England*, design'd to set up the Pretender, when they Voted the profess'd, openest *Jacobites* in *Scotland* into the Parliament, in opposition to the honestest *Whigs* in that Country: Justice is due to all Men; Convince me the Ministry design *French Tyranny*, and to destroy the Succession, I'll print them to be Traytors, and venture the Gallows for the Declaration; but bare making use of *Jacobite Tools* will never condemn them in my Vote, unless I saw there was no visible Distress upon them, to force them to it; no Example of the honestest *Whigs* in the Nation to justify the Practice, and no Power in their Hands to prevent the Consequences of it.

Common Fame and Popular Clamour is an ill Jury to bring in a Verdict, for the Life and Honour of any Man in *England*; and he is not fit to be a Magistrate, that will hang a Dog upon their Evidence: I have lived in so many Changes, that I cannot but look back on them with some Remark in this Case: I have



have seen the Queen call'd *Presbyterian* by the *High-Church*, and *Jacobite* by the *Low-Church*; I have seen her Majesty Curs'd by the *Roman Catholics*, and Excommunicated by the *Cameronians*; those who have abus'd her to-day, have caref'd her to-morrow, and those that have thought her the best of Women Yesterday, have been in the contrary Extreme to-day: The use I make of it, is this, as a Christian must not be concluded to be an Apostate for every Immoral Action; so a Statesman must not be immediately judg'd a Traytor for every Advance he makes, even to the Enemy.

Our Misery lies here, that such a dreadful Strife should be among us, that should drive every Party to run such Risques, and make use of such dangerous Tools: I am as much Allarm'd at, and afraid of the Consequences, as any Man, but I will not cry Rogues and Villains, and use Men Barbarously in Print, as some are pleas'd to do, till I see into the Design, and this is that, which, I know, provokes some People, who either do see farther than I, or think they do; I must see by my own Light, not by theirs; if these are Rogues and Villains for joining with *Jacobites*, tho' they may have no *Jacobite Principles*, or Designs, I will not call them so, because I will not abuse those Gentlemen who did it before them, and of whom I have better Sentiments——Nor will I say, that those Gentlemen were honest, and meant nothing but the Good of the Nation, when they shook Hands, and join'd their Votes with the *Jacobites* in the last Parliament, to carry on their Party-Interests; because I will not write a Panegyrick on the present Ministry, whom I make no court to in this Account.

I long for the Time when these Masks shall be thrown off, and I cannot but be every day more and more confirm'd in my wishes for a Peace, because I cannot but hope the Ministry will then have no more need of these Tools, and will, for their own Peace and Establishment, endeavour to quiet the Minds of the People, calm their Heats, deliver them from the Fear of the Pretender, and make us all easie.

If they do not this, they will either not know, or not pursue their true Interest; and if they do, let the Blame of the Nation's Divisions lie on those that oppose them in it; for my part, as I have often said, whoever are in the Ministry, it is not their Persons, but the Government, that we have to do with, whatever Ministry the Queen thinks fit to Employ, as far as they maintain the Constitution, so far every honest Subject ought, and is oblig'd, to go on with them, and no farther.

I make no difficulty to own, that I believe, and is the Disaster of the several Things mention'd before, that the *French* and *Jacobite* Parties among us, enter themselves with mighty Things, and appear exceedingly elevated in their Hopes, from the Changes; nay, I will not say that there are not any even among our publick People, call them as you will, who in themselves aim at a *Jacobite French* Interest, and hope to bring in the Pretender by the means and influence of the present Ministry——I wish there were less occasion for these Hopes, in our own unhappy Divisions; but I shall say more to this, when I come to the State of the Succession, which I purpose to make the next History: tho' in order it was not so, I adjourn it now, with this short Note, that whatever these People aim at, yet, I think, that to imagine the Ministry as a Ministry, can be in that Design, is impossible and therefore I conclude, that either the *Jacobites* will be deceiv'd in their Hopes, or that the publick Affairs must suffer some Convulsions, of a kind which I hope we have no occasion to apprehend.

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